How Nation and World Took the Elections—4 Pages

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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By Henry A. Wallace:

We Forced the Issues And the People Said: 'Return to Roosevelt!'

THE people of a whole world can look toward America today with renewed confidence. The American people have reaffirmed their progressive tradition. They have repelled the bold maneuvering of monopoly and reaction to take over America through Thomas E. Dewey and the Republican Party. They have handed Harry S. Truman an unmistakable mandate to return to the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

This mandate would not have been possible if the Progressive Party had not introduced the Roosevelt program into the 1948 campaign.

The American people have demanded fulfillment of the promise of lasting world peace as envisioned by Franklin D. Roosevelt. They have mandated the accomplishment of his Economic Bill of Rights. They have ordered the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law, the achievement of the long-promised low-cost housing program, lower prices, higher minimum wages and guarantees of civil rights to all our people.

They have repudiated the reactionary 80th Congress and elected a new Congress pledged to New Deal objectives.

THE people have afforded President Truman an immeasurable opportunity. He has been given another chance to bring the New Deal to fruition in a world securely at peace.

In 1944 the American people gave President Roosevelt and Vice-President Truman a similar mandate. That mandate was forgotten by President Truman after Roosevelt's death. It was surrendered in the onslaught of bipartisan reaction, in the unprincipled haste to reap profit from human misery, to build a new war economy minus the hated New Deal safeguards for our people.

The people of the Progressive Party — the Gideon's army of 1948 — can take credit for the great upturn in American politics which has reaffirmed the New Deal and the Roosevelt program for world peace.

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WE BROUGHT the issues of peace and the New Deal into the campaign. Without us, the American people in 1948, as in 1946, might have had to choose only between two brands of reaction.

We forced these issues, hammered at them, mobilized behind them, until at last — point by point — the backsliding party of Harry Truman was forced to return to the principles of Roosevelt in a belated attempt to regain the confidence of progressive America.

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THE significance of the 1948 election is that the American people have refused to countenance the junking of the New Deal, that they still cherish the progressive Roosevelt tradition with its promise of peace, freedom and abundance.

Now it is the task of all of us — the Progressive Party and all progressive Americans — to fight for the fulfillment of the Roosevelt program. The Progressive Party is in business to see that the people's mandate of 1948 is not betrayed as was that of 1944. We will fight to translate President Truman's campaign promises into concrete action.

This means an unceasing fight on the cold war and the concept of an armaments economy. This means a continuing fight for abandonment of the militaristic Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan bonanza for big business.

Promises of national health, federal aid to education, price rollbacks, low-cost housing, social security, conservation of resources and the like, are all hollow phrases while an armaments economy fattens on more than half

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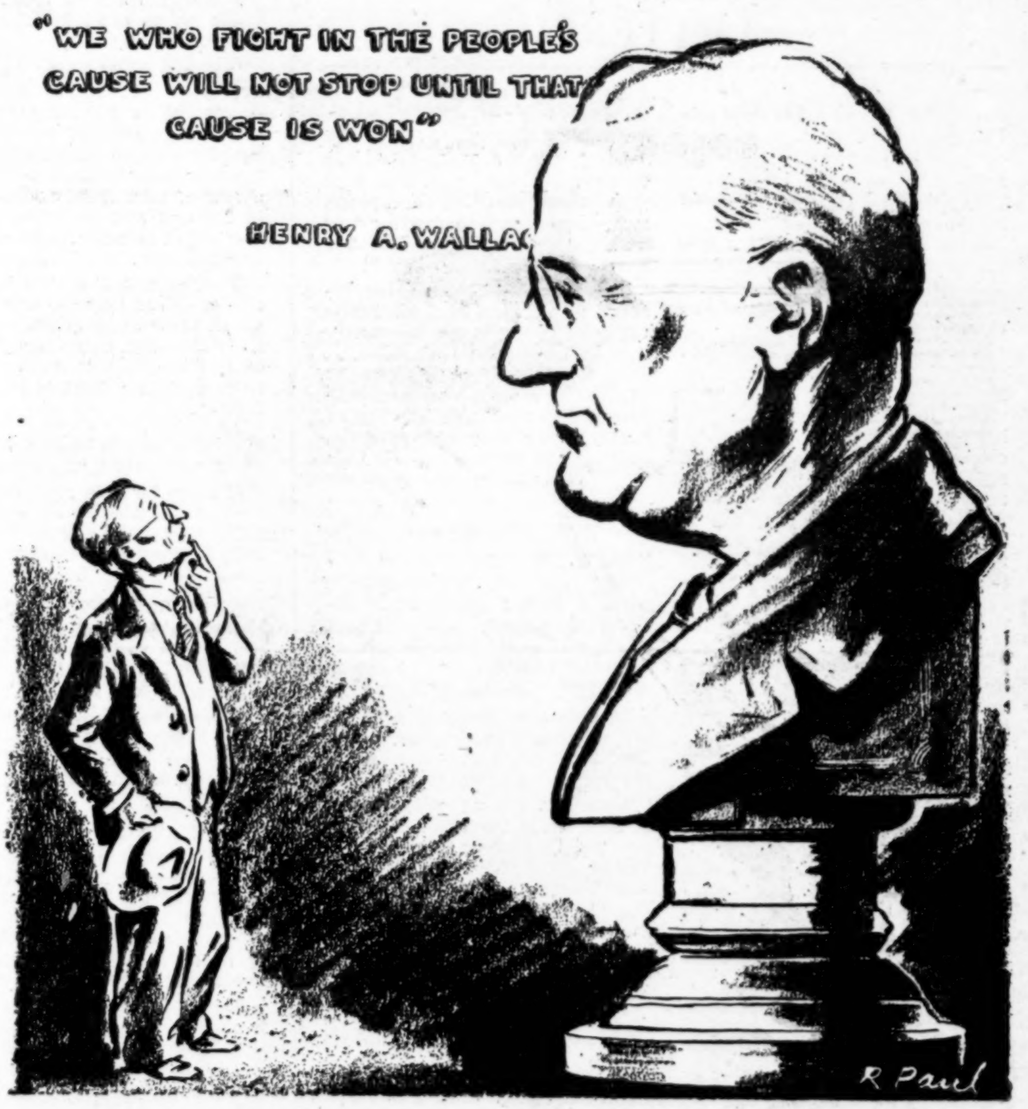

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Cedric Belfrage, *Editor* — John T. McManus, *General Manager* — James Aronson, *Executive Editor*

STAFF: Elmer Bendiner (The Nation); Robert Joyce (Better Living); George Orban (Art); Helen G. Scott (Research); Leon Summit and Robert Light (Business & Circulation); John B. Stone (Washington).

CONTRIBUTORS: Louis Adamic, Sidney Alexander, Arthur Calder-Marshall, Earl Conrad, W. E. B. Du Bois, Charles Duff, James Dugan, Sidney Gordon, Kumar Goshal, James Higgins, Arthur Hurwich, Stanley Karnow, John Lardner, Ring Lardner Jr., Norman Mailer, Clyde R. Miller, Otto Nathan, Arthur Pollock, Paul Robeson, Joan Rodker, Gordon Schaffer, Frederick L. Schuman, Frank Scully, Guy Emery Shipler, Fritz Silber, Johannes Steel, Anna Louise Strong, Paul Sweezy, Henry A. Wallace, Max Werner, George and Eleanor Wheeler, Owen H. Whitfield, Ella Winter, Konni Zilliacus.

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LETTERS

Paging Lysistrata

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Your second issue gave me several things to think about. Here's one: the lady named Minerva Bernardino of the Dominican Republic U.N. Delegation started something when she said the men should stop talking in Paris and give the women a chance.

I write to you as a male admirer of all that women have fought for and won in the past three or four decades. They have the vote here and in most other countries. They can be representatives in parliaments and congresses.

The amazing thing to me is that after having chained themselves to fences and thrown themselves under horses' hoofs to get these rights, the women haven't done more with them now they've got 'em. Feminists now tell us they can do anything men can do. My question is, why don't they come forward to tell us what they won't do that men will? If the male politicians are all set on an atomic World War III, why don't the women stand up and tell us they won't go along with it?

What's the use of fighting for something and then falling over dead?

K. M. Price

(See Page 11)

'Worthy of Survival'

NEW YORK

N. Y. Herald Tribune's **This Week** magazine, Oct. 31, tells "the inside story of how plans are shaping up to draft every member of the family" for World War III.

This is a definitive indictment of all men and all institutions. There is no humanity that is durable in 1948 A.D. . . . This is a crushing indictment of the "American Way of Life." The only Americans worthy of survival are engaged actively, entirely, to change it.

Dorothy Butler Howells.

Hell's Brew

EVANSTON, ILL.

You may be interested in what a friend of mine, a 28-year-old miner, writes about the working class sentiment in England today.

Helen Rand Miller

Miss Miller enclosed a letter from James Conway, Barnsley, Yorkshire, from which we print the following excerpt:

Unorganized as yet, misdirected as is its central force, yet the muttering of scarcely-veiled frustration is growing ever louder. Strikes have been threatened, and the recent award to the engineers of 5 shillings ($1) a week instead of 13 shillings ($2.60) has met with united hostility. Our Trades Union Congress has just met and failed to assess and reflect this growing unrest. It will have very little effect on the future situation. The same old platitudes, flying in the face of statistical facts, blithely ignoring the portents of (a) a coming slump and (b) a violent upsurge of popular feeling, not only here, but all over Europe. These ostriches little know the hell's brew they are stirring, against which their only answer of foreign aid will be as useless as a dewdrop in Dante's Inferno. I wouldn't miss the next five years for anything.

For Armistice Day

NEW YORK, N. Y.

After World War I Germany, Italy and Japan were wickedly encouraged to arm themselves to the limit. Peace was not the outcome. Now after World War II our misguided rulers are forcing on us and upon others the same evil process of huge armament programs.

On this commemoration of Armistice Day let us thoughtfully consider that humanity has been forced, for the second time within 20 years to drink its fill of misery from the goblet of war. Surely now humanity will resolve to throw away the goblet and dash it into pieces, to hold firmly in its hands the legal and moral instruments which will build up the temple of universal peace and contentment.

A. Garcia Diaz

Nobel Prize Winner on the Atom

In a book just published in London, "The Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy," British atomic scientist P. M. S. Blackett has done the most impressive job yet in debunking current atom-warfare legends. Last week Prof. Blackett won the 1948 Nobel Peace Prize. Here are the highlights of his book, as contained in a "Reynolds News" review.

MANKIND is now in possession of a secret which could, within a measurable period of time, bring up the standard of living of even the most backward countries, like India and China, to the level of the United States.

The problem of raising the standard of living in any country is a problem of raising the total energy available to her. Atomic energy offers this possibility on a scale hitherto unknown.

What prevents us from using it? Mainly, preoccupation with atomic energy as something to be used for mass destruction, as a weapon of war.

"Of course," writes Prof. Blackett, "there are strategic situations in which atomic bombs would certainly have decisive results: but this is true of other weapons, too. It is equally certain that there are strategic situations in which atom bombs would not prove decisive, and it is undeniable that the only important war with the possibility of which the world is now faced (war with Russia) is one of them."

To Blackett, the view held in some military circles—that because one atom bomb has the same destructive effect as 20,000 tons of TNT, therefore one bombing plane can do the job of the number of aircraft hitherto required to carry 20,000 tons of explosives—is an utter fallacy.

SOVIET leaders share his refusal to regard the atomic bomb as a decisive weapon.

If only for this reason, his conclusions are well worth pondering, for they go far to explain why "toughness" as a policy has so far failed to secure results from the Soviets.

They are important, too, because if correct they bear out Prof. Blackett's optimism that "the danger of a third world war in the next few years is much less than is generally thought."

Nevertheless, America's stockpile of bombs will continue to grow, and at some uncertain date Russia's will grow, too, and this may produce a new situation.

The question of control is therefore of vital importance.

WHO is to blame for the present deadlock? The general view is that it is Russia's fault. Right or wrong, Prof. Blackett's examination of the Russian attitude, which he is inclined to support, will do service if it restores our capacity to think clearly, rationally and with less hysteria on this ideology-ridden issue.

He quotes various authorities who give at least a strong indication that the atom bomb was dropped on Japan as a diplomatic warning to Russia and, by ending the war quickly, to prevent her troops from reaching Japan first. This, in Prof. Blackett's view, was the beginning of the "cold war," the first act in the dissolution of the Big Three accord, and accounts much for Russia's suspicions of the West.

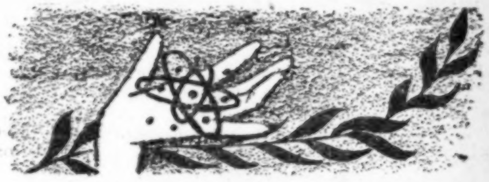
Russia's main fear, he says, is that inspection and control as a first measure before prohibition would reveal her secret plants to the U.S.A. without any guarantee that the American stock-pile would be later destroyed.

BUT there is also a Russian fear that international control of atomic energy, as visualized by the Americans, would put not only its destructive power, but also its use for industrial purposes, at the mercy of a United Nations body on which the U.S.A. can always command a majority.

Such a body, with power to make allocations of how much each country shall have in the way of atomic plants, could, in this case, put a limit on the Soviet Union's plans for industrial expansion.

In other words, America, which already has the largest amount of total energy at her disposal, might be tempted to curb the efforts of other nations, at present technologically less advanced than she herself is, to raise themselves to the level of the U.S.A.

AND Prof. Blackett quotes plenty of evidence to show that there are powerful interests in the U.S.A. who will obstruct the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes, out of simple fear that the present



sources of power, which give the U.S.A. industrial supremacy, will be out-moded.

Blackett's optimism, however, persists. Russia is bound to develop atomic energy anyway, and sooner or later must hold the trump cards. Leaving out the possibility of war in the meantime, America will prefer to have an agreement before this happens. But what about Russia?

It would be a mistake to conclude that Blackett is simply selling us the Russian point of view. He says that there will be no agreement unless Russia changes her attitude no less than the U.S.A. She must give up her demand for the total destruction of all existing atom bombs.

America, on her side, must abandon her insistence, based on the fallacy that the atomic bomb is a decisive weapon, that this bomb should be treated apart from all other weapons.

THE way to agreement, says Prof. Blackett, is by general disarmament, in which the atom bomb will be regarded as only one of the weapons of war.

In this general disarmament so many atom bombs might be equated to so many divisions of troops.

Whatever happens, he says, it is no use carrying on discussions on this issue in the way in which they have been conducted during the last two abortive years.

D. R. J.

"Sure we have enough atom bombs to blow up the world . . . but you just can't trust those guys on Mars!"

Common Sense About Words

"Communism"

BERNARD SHAW, British playwright and sage, recently called for a brand new political dictionary of common, exact words, "to clear our heads."

Commenting last week on Stalin's "frank and exact words," Shaw told Western politicians that they don't know what the word "communism" means. While they denounce it, Western nations practise it all the time in every public service.

Communism is nothing more than communal organization of services and equal sharing of what results from them. Constant references to the U.S.S.R. as a "communist country" show that Shaw is right. U.S.S.R. stands for Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. It has never claimed to be a communist state, merely to aim at becoming one. It cannot become one until it produces enough to give everyone equal shares of what they need.

Ideas and ways of carrying them out are two different things. Mixing them up is a favorite way of creating confusion. In every mis-called "communist" country today, different methods of moving toward socialism (and later perhaps communism) are being used, as GUARDIAN will show in forthcoming articles.

THE ELECTIONS

'ruman Won on 'Peace, Freedom, Abundance'

JCH of the American press—which was 78.55 pro-Dewey—credited the lection of President Truman to his firmation of the New Deal principles 'ranklin Roosevelt in the final weeks he campaign.

irtually none of the press—only one h of one percent of which supported iry Wallace—pointed out the signifit similarity between the Truman prom and the program of Henry Wal- The Wallace program, summed up he Progressive Party in its slogan, e, Freedom and Abundance," was, President Truman's closing drive, ily affirmation of New Deal Roosem before U. S. voters in 1948.

re is the winning Truman program, embled from his campaign speeches pledges and compared with the ed positions of the Progressive Party the several issues:

Peace

"HE Government of the United States utterly rejects the concept of war a means of solving international difences. . . The Government of this ntry, like the American people as a le, detests the thought of war. . . So g as I am President of the United tes there will be no chip on the ilder of America."

• • •

defense of his attempt to send Chief tice Vinson to Moscow in quest of a s for peace:

he President's responsibility goes beyond the formality of diplomacy. Our experience has shown that fordiplomatic channels do not always ceed. . . It is the duty of the President, therefore, to consider and study every possible approach to the heart and understanding of the Soviet leaders."

"Bright with victory . . ."

• • •

"A strong, prosperous, free Israel," with boundaries as set up by the United Nations partition plan.

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The Progressive Party program, in addition to calling for full and immediate de jure recognition of Israel and guarantee of her borders as prescribed by the U. N. partition plan, quoted Henry Wallace as follows:

"There is no misunderstanding or difficulty between the USA and USSR which cannot be settled by peaceful, hopeful negotiation."

Freedom

"WE must continue to fight to assure full human rights to all our citizens. . . Democracy's answer to totalitarianism is its promise of equal rights and equal opportunity for all mankind. The fulfillment of this promise is among the highest purposes of government. . . Our determination to attain the goal of equal rights and equal opportunity must be resolute and unwavering. . .

"For my part I intend to keep moving toward this goal with every ounce of strength and determination I have."

•

The Progressive Party declared that "It is the first duty of a just government to secure for all the people, regardless of race, creed, color, sex, national background, political belief, or station in life, the inalienable rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed by the Bill of Rights."

Abundance

"I COMPLETELY reject the idea that we should eliminate the New Deal. Instead we should build upon it a better way of life. . . The people are entitled to prosperity, to health, to education, to social security. . . Unless each group of our people gets a fair share of our national income our prosperity will crash. . . . I regard it as a proper function of government to fight depressions."

• • •

"There is no reason on earth why a great nation such as ours should not educate all its children."

"Prepaid Health Insurance will be one more keystone in the great structure of social insurance."

"The Taft-Hartley Law is an instrument for union-busting by anti-labor employers."

• • •

The Truman 8-point program:

1. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Law.
2. A national minimum wage of 75 cents an hour.
3. Extend social security to workers not now covered.
4. Increase social security benefits by 50 percent; lower the old-age pension age for women from 65 to 60 years.
5. Expand the nation's health facilities through a national health program.
6. Federal aid to states for education.
7. Federal aid for slum clearance and low-cost housing.
8. Lower prices.

•

The Progressive Party platform stated: "A just government must use its powers to promote an abundant life for its people. This is the basic idea of Franklin Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights."

The Progressive platform called for a Council of Economic Planning to develop plans for assuring high production, full employment and a rising standard of living. It called for TVA-type developments, flood control, reforestation, rural electrification, soil conservation; public ownership of key areas of the economy; enforcement of anti-trust laws against monopoly control of the economy; repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and reinstatement of the principles of the Wagner and Norris-LaGuardia acts; a $1 hourly minimum wage; broad programs of housing, health, education and the promotion of science and culture by government; economic controls and price rollbacks.

JAMES DUGAN

'Twas the Night After Election

THE victors were ready with champagne and television makeup in the Grand Ballroom of the Roosevelt Hotel headquarters and at the home of the publisher of the New York **Herald Tribune**. The streets were empty. This was not to be a celebration for the people in the streets.

Life was going to press with a cover photograph of Our New President. **Kiplinger's Weekly** had 32 pages of keen analysis of what business could expect from Dewey (plenty). The Alsop fops were typing out urgent advice on how to run the new State Department. Rube Goldberg had an inspiring victory cartoon ready for the **Sun**.

The Voice of America was fixed to tell Europe as they had been telling Europe for weeks. The Cleveland edition of the Chicago **Tribune** was in the baggage cars, announcing the great victory. The Munich **Merkur**, U. S.-licensed, was on the streets with a headline, THOMAS E. DEWEY, AMERICA'S NEW PRESIDENT. Drew Pearson published the list of Dewey guests on the inaugural train.

The **Journal of Commerce**, Washington edition, was in trucks on the way to the newsstands, saying DEWEY VICTORY SEEN AS A MANDATE OF A NEW ERA. The ufacturers of Thomas E. had reservations at the oom of the Stork Club.

On Friday night they were all set to see **Love Life.** Leonard Lyons filed a column beginning with several Dewey anecdotes.

In Spain, Franco's experts were announcing that James A. Farley would soon be President Dewey's Ambassador. Mr. Farley left Democratic headquarters at eight o'clock. The Solicitor-General in Washington was asking permission to enter private practice and do his government work at the same time. Most of the other office-holding lawyers had already pulled out.

Mr. Forrestal, the Secretary of Defense, was busy with a deal to stay on under the new regime. Democratic page boys on Capitol Hill were packing up their autograph collections. The Washington papers were full of House-for-Sale and Apt.-to-Sublet ads. Reporters who had been assigned to the Dewey Victory Train for months, were preparing for new deeds of loathing, of writing the victory stories. E. B. White of the **New Yorker** magazine had sent in his paragraphs for the **Talk of the Town**, beginning with the parenthetic note that he did not know who the new President was to be at the moment of writing, an act positively disloyal with restraint.

It was in the bag.

Gallup had said so. Roper had said so. Crossley had said so. Winchell had said so. Moscow had said so. Drew Pearson had said so. The Voice of America had said so. **Life, Time, Fortune,** had said so. A politician in Philadelphia said so. He said, "Dewey enters the Presidency as hated as Herbie Hoover was going out."

THEN the bag was opened. Dewey did not make his two triumphant appearances on the balcony of the Grand Ballroom to the chosen few. Mrs. Reid's party was a bust. It cost Henry Luce a half million bucks to pulp his Dewey cover. The Alsops were so dazed they didn't write an emergency column to cover themselves. Rube Goldberg appeared as a large white space with 14-point caps in the middle, RUBE GOLDBERG REGRETS. **Kiplinger**, the Chi. **Tribune**, the **Journal of Commerce**, hit the streets and became collector's items. (National monthlies and weeklies for months to come will be appearing with President Dewey articles.) Nobody showed at the Cub Room or at **Love Life.** All of a sudden Jim Farley was a Democrat again. He called a press conference and told the boys about high Democratic strategy.

Fifteen hundred little Democratic jobholders in Washington started cancelling their sublet ads. Republican elevator operators and powder room matrons at the Senate started inserting sublet ads. Everybody in Washington suddenly knew in his secret heart that he'd been a Democrat all along.

"I was born to other things."

—Tennyson: In Memoriam

The happy people laughed Thomas E. Dewey out of the headlines, the offices, the polls, the microphones, and the cameras. The little Republicans laughed to see such fun.

In the dark rainy night on the lawn at Hyde Park, N. Y., a caretaker heard a well-known jovian laugh and a voice say, "He couldn't even beat Harry."

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Continued in wide col

Week's Roundup

The Victor: FDR

LAST Tuesday Franklin D. Roosevelt won again. It was his program, his record, his name, his party that drew the people's ballots. Americans voted on the promise of peace, prices, jobs, the hope of the New Deal and the dire threat of Dewey. Americans took what seemed to them a promising turn away from the right.

They elected a Congress of 257 Democrats, 165 Republicans and 1 American Laborite. The new Senate will have 54 Democrats and 42 Republicans. With the new legislators rode Harry S. Truman and Alben Barkley.

The Congress is much like that faced by Harry Truman three years ago when he asked newsmen: "Pray for me."

Then the House held 244 Democrats, 190 Republicans and the same Laborite. The Senate held 56 Democrats to 44 Republicans. On the surface it seems to offer Truman better backing than he had from the 80th Congress. But in the ranks of the Democrats are many Dixiecrats, many bipartisans. One hundred and two are Southerners.

NEW STRENGTH? The millions of New Deal-minded Americans who swept Tom Dewey into the ashcan were wondering, after the score was in, whether Harry Truman would take new heart from what they had done and fight for FDR's ideals.

For such a fight, many felt, he would need a strength he has never shown.

He would have to reverse his feebleness over the Vinson mission-to-Moscow affair, and carve his way to fresh air through the thicket of Forrestals, Leahys and Lovetts which surrounds him on all sides. Moreover, the President's party in Congress was likely to be unsympathetic.

"GOOD TO HIM." The line-up of Committeemen is forbidding. Heading the Senate Finance Committee will be Sen. Walter George of Georgia, long-time foe of the excess profits tax. He may also inherit the post of President protempore from the ailing hands of Sen. Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee.

McKellar recently deserted the Crump machine for Truman, somewhat apologetically pointing out to his old boss that the Democratic Party had been good to him.

Tom Connally, the bow-tied Texan who exhibited a spectacular, frequently ludicrous flair at early U.N. sessions, will replace the more statesmanlike Arthur Vandenberg as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Connally invented bipartisanship in foreign affairs, Vandenberg gave it its polish.

New Inquisition

NO BROOMSTICKS. Another Southerner, John S. Wood, will take over the House Unamerican Activities Committee from J. Parnell Thomas. Wood headed the Inquisition in the 79th Congress. Witch hunters who will not ride next year are Richard B. Vail of Illinois and John McDowell of Pennsylvania. Karl Mundt was advanced to the Senate.

J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey squeezed back into office with no votes to spare. Thomas, who hitherto has vented his Grand Inquisitor's fury on those who refuse to testify anywhere, paused briefly but awkwardly in New York on his way back to Washington. He was called before a Grand Jury investigating charges that the arch investigator had hired people at Government pay, forced kickbacks

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE ELECTIONS

ROUND THE NATION

They All Celebrated the Fiasco Of GOP's 'Mechanical Man'

COLORADO

'Poor Propagandists Singed, But Still Alive'

DENVER

OH how we love to kick over the smug big-shots, the opinion polls, the Dr. Gallups, the newspaper editors, the radio bamboozlers, the Time and Life magazines, and the priggy mechanical man with the black mustache.

Says one man at 2 a.m. in Kelley's beer joint, "The radio commentators and news columnists are coming down the fire ladders in droves; backwards to be sure, and singed, but still alive, God save their souls!"

Says Jim Patton, Farmers Union chief, over a night-cap, "This will show again that people are fundamentally progressive. They'll always kick over the propaganda machine if they have a chance."

Colorado Democratic headquarters is full of empty-headed politician species who did not do much to make this miracle, and who don't understand it yet.

—Lee Fryer

THE CAPITAL

The Wisecrackers At the Press Club

WASHINGTON

AT the National Press Club on election night the pundits of the press were too flabbergasted to pick on the Wallace issue as an "out." By Wednesday morning the smart ones had it figured.

Being forced to eat crow, they blamed most of their bad predictions on the fact that Wallace had only scored 1,000,000 votes.

Pet wise cracks at the Press Club today were, "Oh, you're a Southern Postmaster. Come right up to Washington and pick up your mail." "You can't make a souffle raise twice."

—John B. Stone

CALIFORNIA

The Sign Read: 'Wallace In 1952'

LOS ANGELES

AS the local polling place closed, a pretty blonde stood outside with a large, home-made cardboard badge on her chest: "WALLACE IN '52."

On Hollywood Boulevard, in Pershing Square, in night clubs and union halls, the people were jubilant. It was more of an anti-Dewey than a pro-Truman feeling.

One man at Sunset and Vine said: "What the American people go for is the underdog. That's what Truman was in this campaign. Dewey acted too much like the vote was in the bag."

Next morning, one grim-faced housewife standing in the checkout line at the local food store said ominously: "Now that Mr. Truman is elected, and a Democratic Congress, too, let's see those prices come down, and fast. He's got no excuses now."

—Martin Field

UPSTATE N.Y.

The Ladies Wore Their Party Dresses

SYRACUSE, N.Y.

SHIRTSLEEVED men and women in party dresses jammed the city's CIO hall to greet the election returns with dumbfounded joy. For this solidly Republican community, labor's first plunge into combined union politics was a huge success.

The remarkable slimness of the victory won by the GOP's Rep. R. Walter Riehlman was good cause for rejoicing among the union men who had so nearly defeated him. The national returns brought on a full-scale celebration.

The listeners adjourned about midnight to bars and homes to await the final verdict. Chiefly, they left the hall knowing that organized labor here was in politics to stay, and that they could wield the b[illegible] ance of power in many a [illegible] ture election.

—Mary Brus[illegible]

PENNSYLVANIA

'One Thing They Can't Take Away From Us...'

HARRISBURG, PA.

I SPENT Election Night in the State office of the Progressive Party of Pennsylvania in Harrisburg.

The vote rung up for Wallace and Taylor was small; our local candidate was badly defeated. The grip of Pennsylvania's graft-ridden Republican machine had not been broken.

And so we sat, dejected, wondering if the long hours of volunteer work, done after the day's job was over, had been worthwhile. The staff members thought back to the last time they had been paid, many, many weeks before, and worried about unpaid bills—and the future.

And then someone put on the phonograph, and the rich, deep baritone of Paul Robeson sang straight to our hearts "The Battle Hymn of '48."

"There's a fresh breeze blowing,
All across this mighty land . . ."

Yes, they can't take that away from us; we have introduced new life and new meaning into what had become the old stale game of politics.

—Barbara A. Cole

From Warsaw

The Polish Govemental paper **Rzeczpospolita** commenting on the election said: "This means that the world peace camp can rely upon wider support among Americans. The fact that Truman had to take over part of Wallace's progr[illegible]m proves that Wallace is [illegible]sentially the man who r[illegible] expresses the aspiratio[illegible] the American nation." [illegible]...

Henry Wallace's Election Comment

(Continued from Page 1)

of our total annual budget, usurping money, materials and manpower and threatening to swallow up an ever greater portion unless it is halted.

WE SHALL call a halt to congressional witch hunting — to the senseless "loyalty" purges which make it increasingly improbable that men and women of free intelligence will offer their services to government.

We cannot have our war program and eat, too. We must no longer appropriate billions and billions of taxpayers' dollars to militarize our nation and the nations of half the world at the insufferable price of the health, welfare, freedom and future of the American people.

The program demanded by the American people requires removal of the military from the civilian branch of government, retirement of the bankers from the State Department and other agencies, and a return to the Roosevelt policy of friendship and collaboration among all nations through the United Nations for the establishment of one world at peace.

THE peoples of the world are on the march toward a more abundant life. By demonstrating their allegiance to the progressive program, the American people have shown that they are not out of step with the rest of the world. They must for their own sake repudiate the bipartisan policy which seeks to halt that forward march.

We of the Progressive Party will lead the fight for a policy of peace and friendship with all peoples, for the fulfillment of the progressive mandate of 1948. We who fight in the people's cause shall not rest until our fight is won.

THE ELECTIONS

ROUND THE WORLD

They Felt It Was a Tribute To the Memory of Roosevelt

ENGLAND

'They Want Peace Just Like Us'

LONDON

THE man in the street and in the factory here says: "The common people have won. They want social justice and peace just like us." Those who followed the situation see clearly that Wallace and the Progressive Party tore Truman from the arms of the Dixiecrats and pushed him into the embrace of Labor. American people took

his deathbed conversion to the New Deal and peace so seriously that they gave him a new lease on life. Will they be fooled again or can they insist on a change?

China may be the acid test. The decisive defeat of bipartisan policy, of anti-Communist intervention and anti-Soviet power politics forces the choice on the new administration of double or quits. The same choice must be made in the Middle East, Greece, Italy, and Western Europe along wtih a corresponding revision of attitude to the Soviets.

Meanwhile the New Deal victory and the substantial vote for Wallace have put heart and hope into those in England struggling for sanity in the Anglo-American policy towards the European working class, the Soviet Union and revolutionary China. Taken together they make quite a sizable chunk of our common humanity, and not so different in what they want from folks at home.

—Konni Zilliacus

FRANCE

Changed the Jockey But Not the Horse

PARIS

SURPRISE but not excitement was the reaction to the U. S. election results here, because most Frenchmen were prepared to accept a Dewey victory simply as a changing of the jockey but not of the horse.

The general attitude is one of waiting now to see what Mr. Truman's victory will mean in terms of foreign policy, and especially what will happen to Secretary of State Marshall of whom almost everyone takes a dim view.

The people of Paris were overwhelmingly in favor of Henry Wallace and his showing was a disappointment here.

The French population which, with the Czechs, is the most politically sophisticated national group in the world, has always been critical but often patient with President Truman's attempts to sell "the American way" like a pair of marked-up garters.

One student, poorly-dressed and shivering in the cold autumn air, spoke as he collected contributions for the striking miners, and expressed what about 80 per cent of the young intellectuals of Paris think.

"Most of us have been behind Wallace," he said, "primarily because of his attitude on the Marshall Plan. For the Marshall Plan as it has been administered by the alliance of Truman and a reactionary American Congress, we have had to pay four- and five-fold. The Marshall Plan is represented to us by the cans of American products in the stores—at 200 and 300 francs each (200 francs is almost half the average daily wage). A ton of the famous American coal costs us 125 per cent more than it did last year—when you can get it on the official market. On the black market the prices are astronomical.

"We think of Wallace," he continued, "the way we thought of Roosevelt. What matters to us is that the Roosevelt tradition should be carried on."

—Stanley Karnow

NEXT WEEK

In next week's GUARDIAN Paul Robeson gives his opinion of what America faces in the next four years. Don't miss this stirring, provocative article.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'The Voters Chose FDR's Shadow'

PRAGUE

"THE voters chose Roosevelt's shadow" is the way the newspaper **Lidove Noviny** interpreted the American election results. That was the general opinion in this capital.

The newspaper also regards

Belgrade Explains the Election: Morgans Defeated Rockefellers

the Wallace campaign as successful because it forced discussion of such issues as the Taft-Hartley law, inflation and civil liberties.

Hopes are expressed that the Progressive Party will carry on in spite of the fact that it has elected only one candidate.

The U. S. Embassy here released on Tuesday a mimeographed statement announcing a Dewey victory. The Embassy was wrapped in embarrassed silence on Wednesday.

—Eleanor Wheeler

CANADA

The Words Were 'Surprised, Baffled'

TORONTO

"SURPRISE" was the one-word heading over the lead editorial of the Toronto **Star** on President Truman's re-election, and surprise was the reaction of the "man in the street," who was baffled at a result he was told could not occur.

To most Canadians President Truman has long been a highly deflated figure and Gov. Dewey has been regarded with something more than suspicion in all but right-wing circles. The interest of the Canadian "man in the street" has been centered in Henry Wallace's campaign for peace, because the average Canadian is highly concerned about the cold war, which puts Canada smack between the United States to the South and the U.S.S.R. to the west and across the Pole.

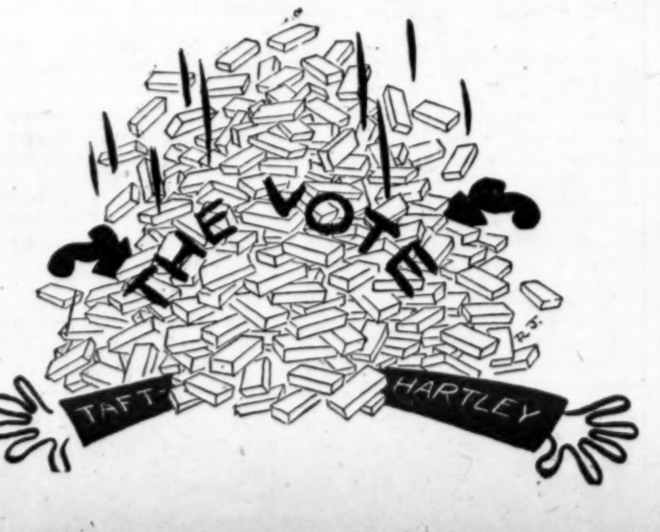
Every American push in the cold war has brought him closer to the prospect of a hot war in which Canada would be a battleground, and probably reduced to a mass of radioactive ash.

While Canadians had no illusion that Wallace could be elected, they saw his campaign as evidence of trends in the U. S. against the drift to war and toward a return to sanity. They have watched with growing anxiety the development of a world design which has already made Canada the site of U. S. bases garrisoned with U. S. troops.

Ottawa, however, seems satisfied to continue doing business with the Truman Administration, and the Toronto **Telegram**, of the uncompromising right, has found solace in remembering that it was Truman, after all, who launched the "get-tough-with-Russia" policy.

Average Canadians hope that the U. S. vote, rejecting what was considered the more aggressive reaction, represents a wide area of public opinion which can be won for a stand against the drift to war.

—Sydney Gordon



Week's Roundup

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

from them and had given them no work to do. Mr. Thomas refused to testify on the charges.

Also among the victories is the hearty shellacking administered to those who championed the Taft-Hartley law.

Sen. Joseph Ball of Minnesota lost out to Hubert Humphrey, Mayor of Minneapolis. Sen. C. Wayland (Curley) Brooks, spokesman for Robert R. McCormick of the **Chicago Tribune**, lost out to Paul H. Douglas, professor at the University of Chicago.

LOOKING AHEAD. Progressives, disappointed by their vote of just over 1,000,000, looked beyond statistics to take heart. Americans had elected a man who was pushed into promising most of what Henry Wallace would have performed. On the domestic front, the Wallace program won.

Truman would have to carry out that program or else forever lose his popular support. Wallaceites were set to grow.

Progressives counted as their victory the leftward trend which Truman had to take to win. They had their sleeves rolled up to push Truman left or else take over where Truman backslides.

Aside from uncounted support among Truman votes, Progressives could point to a record-breaking vote in their own right in New York State of 508,542. In 1944 the American Labor Party scored 496,000 for President Roosevelt. Jack Kroll of CIO-Political Action Committee, had predicted no more than 200,000 for the ALP this year. The ALP pulled two for every one of the well-heeled Liberal Party.

Marc Does It

UNBEATABLE MARC. More significant than the over-all vote was the sweeping victory of Vito Marcantonio, who routed his Republican and Tammany rivals in New York City's East Harlem.

Everyone was violently against Marc except the people. This was the final tally: Marcantonio, 35,937; Rep. and Lib. John Ellis, 31,483; Dem. P. Morrissey, 31,184.

Marcantonio was hard to beat because his record was unsurpassed in Congress; he is an astute campaigner, a fiery orator, a man who knows how to work with people and for people in his neighborhood.

Concerning his election, Marcantonio had this to say of his opponents: "They didn't like what I did in the last 14 years. Wait until they see what I do in the next two!"

INNOCENT WIZARD. Throughout the south the Klan electioneered with its usual techniques.

In Tennessee hundreds of Negroes received pre-election warnings in the mail: "Keep away from the polls Nov. 2 . . . KKK." Others read: "The Klan knows you."

Samuel Green, Imperial Wizard of the Klan, denied that his outfit had sent the letters. But the Klan did not deny that on Election eve hooded men bore down on the Negro sections of four Florida towns in a 50-car cavalcade. Fiery crosses were burned. One report said: "Negroes remained close to their homes."

From Rochester, N. Y., came this explanation of why Negro and Jewish voters turned to Truman: "We're for Wallace because we know he's for us. But we're afraid Dewey might get in. So we're working and voting for Truman this election. After we've licked Dewey we'll join the Progressives and work for Wallace, because he's the man we want in '52."

Negro clauses in the Mandate of 1948 were listed this way by A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: Abolish segregation in the armed forces; actively push the civil rights program on which the President campaigned; enact Fair Employment Practices legislation.

Of no broad significance was the decision of three New York towns to go dry and of the state of Kansas to go wet.

Civil Liberties

"THERE is no hysteria," said the District Attorney to the Federal Judge; and witch-hunting, as unaffected by the elections as it was by Halloween, went on across the country. After hearing the DA's disclaimer in a New York City courtroom, the judge ordered the 12 Communist leaders to stand trial on Nov. 15, charged with being Communist leaders.

In London's Grosvenor Sq. Communist war veterans

Continued in wide column on next page.

Week's Roundup

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

laid a wreath at the base of Roosevelt's statue. In it was a card inscribed:

"In memory of United States democracy. On trial Nov. 1, 1948." (Date of last week's hearing.)

FRENCH "INTERFERENCE." French Communists joined in protest. Asked if the action was not an interference in internal American affairs, Jacques Duclos, General Secretary of the French Communist Party said:

"It isn't as if Americans were not taking considerable part in French affairs. France is now so little independent that if this case succeeds in the U. S., they will try to charge our party with the same accusations."

Among other Europeans protesting the trial were: Pablo Picasso, painter; Prof. Pierre Joliot-Curie, atomic scientist; Martin Andersen-Nexo, novelist; Louis Aragon, poet; George Bernard Shaw.

HAPLESS LAMA. Caught in the Inquisition's toils was the "Grand Lama" of the United States, self-proclaimed spiritual leader of 20,000 American Buddhists.

The hapless Lama's name is Robert E. Dickhoff, and his initials were incriminating since they gave rise to the title, the "Red Lama." Now he is up for deportation.

He testified: "I came here as a seaman in 1927 and shortly afterward joined the Communist Party. When I found out a year later what the Communist Party was all about and that it was not needed for my spiritual uplift, I left it."

ANTI-KOCH ACTIVITIES. The American Labor Party was barred from Bronx schools last week. The Board of Education acted after the appearance at a pre-election rally of John Howard Lawson, Hollywood script writer and one of the ten indicted for contempt of Congress.

Another speaker listed by the Board as objectionable was Solomon Surowitz, attorney who prosecuted Ilse Koch. Albert Kahn, author and ALP candidate in the elections, termed it "another step in thought control that is following the Nazi pattern of suppression of ideas."

In Denver and Los Angeles the pattern of holding political prisoners on "indefinite sentences" was broken. Widespread protest and the action of a Federal Court won the release of ten prisoners in California and three in Colorado who were imprisoned for refusing to tell a Grand Jury whether or not they were members of the Communist Party. They are free on bail, but at the week-end the Grand Jury subpenaed them again.

Plans for War

MOTHBALLS AND MISSILES. Plans for the country's total war mobilization went ahead with no time off for election talk.

The Federal Works Agency took over a dozen government-owned war plants and began to prepare them for "moth-ball" treatment so they would be ready for instant use—in case. This "industrial reserve" is ultimately to include 100 factories. Ten million dollars has been authorized to put the plants in shape for quick-as-a-flash production.

The Navy and Air Force argued over which should be responsible for long-range bombing. A Navy guided-missile man said the Navy's carrier-based planes could "reach the heart of any continent in the world."

The Navy spokesman said bitingly: "The Air Force indicates an amazing lack of understanding of what the Navy can contribute toward survival in the air age." The Air Force countered with the claim that its long-range bombers could contribute more to survival than the Navy's long-range bombers. Survivors remained diplomatically nameless.

SELF-EXPRESSION. Mobilizing manpower is another matter for "the principles and methods that have proved themselves in American business."

So said Brig. Gen. Robert Wood Johnson (Ret.), who added that a military career must lure men "not only from the standpoint of pay and such material aspects as better living quarters and a greater opportunity for further educa-

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE NATION

SCOTTSBORO IN TRENTON

Witnesses Put Condemned Men Far From Horner Murder Scene

The mother and sisters of Collis English reading a story about the case.

By William A. Reuben

TRENTON

McKINLEY FOREST is one of six Negro men in Trenton's death house, facing the electric chair for a murder they could not have committed.

Forest was a chicken picker at the Liberty Meat Market in Trenton. On the morning of last January 27 he was sent out by his employers, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Katzeff, to make a deposit at the bank. He was gone 20 minutes, during which time he paused to chat with George Roberts, the brother of his co-worker in the market, Peyton Roberts. During that time he is alleged to have participated in the brutal slaying of William Horner in a store at 213 No. Broad St.

Last week I drove as fast as I could from the Liberty Market to the Broad St. house. It took me a little over 10 minutes, one way.

I talked with Peyton Roberts who worked at Forest's side for 18 years. Roberts told me: "He never ran around with fellows who would do anything like that. Besides, McKinley's not a Superman. He couldn't have flown over to Broad St."

YOU COULD TRUST HIM. Philip Wiener, another employee of the Liberty Meat Market, showed me a Jewish New Year's card which Forest had sent to him and to the Katzeffs from his cell in the death house.

"You could trust Forest with your life," Wiener said, "he'd never do anything like this. He was an honest, nice, quiet boy, a steady worker. If he wanted to rob someone, as the police say, he had a chance to do it right here. We'd always send him to the bank to make our deposits. Many times he'd have as much as $1,000 in cash."

John McKenzie used to be a chicken picker, too, before Trenton police took him from his home last winter. Harry Stern, the man who employed McKenzie, told me this:

"When the prosecutor kept questioning me I showed him our records. They showed that so many chickens were picked that day, and that McKenzie was one of the men who was working."

Working with McKenzie all through the morning of the murder were Rovie Lee Guinyard and Alphonso Strauss. Both testified that they were with McKenzie at 11 a.m. when Horner was slain. Strauss further testified that he and his wife had had lunch with McKenzie that day.

Strauss told me bitterly: "That jury just call us a damn bunch of liars, that's all."

ONE ARM. Last Jan. 19, eight days before the murder, James Thorpe left the hospital, his arm amputated. On the day Horner was killed, four people swore that they saw him in and around his house from 9:30 in the morning until 2 in the afternoon. These were: Daniel Armstrong and J. Paul Hubbard, neighbors; his brother, Raymond Thorpe, and his father, Henry Thorpe.

Thorpe's grandfather, Thomas Thorpe, told me: "Everybody on the block saw him. If that jury didn't believe the four who swore to it, they wouldn't believe the thousand who could have."

"Are you sure of the date?" I asked.

James Thorpe's grandmother spoke up then: "James went up to the corner that afternoon and came back with the Trenton Times. He showed me the big headline about that man being attacked and said, 'Thank the Lord I don't have to worry about proving that I wasn't there.'"

THEY ALL WORRY. When a manhunt is on in Trenton all Negroes worry.

McKinley Forest, James McKenzie and Collis English all lived in the same house before they became neighbors in the death house. Collis English's mother told me that ten days after the crime was committed the three boys were sitting at a table in her apartment listening to the radio. A policeman came in and said he wanted Collis for a traffic violation.

"If they wanted the boys for the crime," Mrs. English asked, "why didn't they arrest all of them that night? They arrested McKinley when he took the car keys down to the station house the next day, and they didn't arrest Jack until 5 days later.

"If it was any other day but a Tuesday when I do my washing at home I wouldn't be so sure. But I've been working for the same white people for more than 20 years. All of them know I wash on Tuesday and iron on Wednesday. Ever since Collis got out of the hospital the first week in January he'd been helping me with the laundry. The doctor told him couldn't do any hard work cause of the malaria and hea condition he got in the N I know my boy didn't have a thing to do with that."

SHE SIGNED IT. A neighbor of Mrs. English is Evelyn Smith. Her kitchen faces the English kitchen and all that fateful morning of the murder she saw Collis helping his mother. She was subpoenaed before the trial began. She made a statement to the prosecutor. His secretary took notes, then handed her a document purported to be her statement. She signed it without reading it.

"They didn't ask me to testify in court; they just read a statement from me," Mrs. Smith says. "But it sure was different from the statement I give them. They had put in their own words, changed lots of words around, and left out lots of things."

"ALMOST WHITE." Ralph Cooper and Horace Wilson, the other two defendants, adduced similar evidence in court to prove that they could not have been at the scene of the crime at 11 a.m. on Jan. 27.

Bessie Mitchell, Collis English's sister, double-checked the innocence of these men. She told of a conversation with the cigar salesman, Frank H. Eldracher, one of the few witnesses who saw the supposed killers leave the scene of the crime. He told Bessie Mitchell, "One looked almost white and the others only slightly darker."

Five of the defendants are very dark-complexioned Negroes and the sixth, James Thorpe, is only a little lighter. He would be readily identifiable since has only one arm. Eldrac never identified any of those now s. he death house—and abo , never a one-armed m

THE NATION

HOLLISTER NOBLE

How the Los Angeles Gestapo Made Its Secret Dawn Raids

LOS ANGELES

THIS is the factual story of a day—Monday, Oct. 25, 1948—which is burned indelibly into my memory.

At 6:30 a.m. on that day, while my wife and I were both asleep, the phone rang. I answered it. The almost hysterical voice of a friend of mine came over the wire. "This is Edith. Get over here at once. I'm in great trouble." I hastily dressed, jumped in my car, drove six miles to her home. She was standing before her house, shaking and on the verge of hysteria, with a small overnight bag in her hand. She is the mother of two children.

She told me she had refused to accept a special summons to appear before an extraordinary session of the Federal Grand Jury on four hours' notice, because she was determined to remain near her children. She was convinced the government was rounding people up for the crime of supporting Progressive candidates.

I thought her fears and hysteria were greatly exaggerated. But I did not say so. I drove her at once to the home of a friend and returned to my own home to find my wife hastily dressing. She, too, had been roused from bed by a Federal marshal, summoned before the Grand Jury. She drove into Los Angeles as soon as possible in search of legal advice.

A MEMORABLE SCENE. I spent the rest of the day on the telephone as calls poured in from fathers and mothers asking about one another, asking for child care, asking what they should do in the face of this widespread secret dawn raid by a whole bevy of Federal marshals.

At 5 p.m. I received a phone call from my wife asking me to come downtown and get our car as she "might be detained in jail overnight." I went at once to the Federal building, arriving there about 7 p.m. For almost five hours I watched the remarkable scene in U.S. District Court No. 3, with Federal Judge Pierson M. Hall presiding.

Ten witnesses—six men and four women—had been routed from their beds at dawn. Someone close to the Federal building had tipped off dozens of others who had fled their homes. The unlucky ten were rushed before the Federal Grand Jury, itself hastily summoned for the occasion. Legal counsel for the ten "witnesses" had to drop their scheduled activities and were given no time to prepare their strategy.

FOUR QUESTIONS. For 15 hours these ten witnesses were shuttled about in the Federal building. Before the Grand Jury and before Judge Hall these men and women were asked four "questions" — did they know the leaders of the Communist Party in Los Angeles; did they know the table of organization of the Communist Party in Los Angeles; did they know [illegible] Sparks"; did they know [illegible] Russo. This last was an [illegible] trick question, for Mr. Russo is a special investigator attached to the Department of Justice.

The witnesses were unanimously advised by their legal counsel that these questions were definitely violations of their Constitutional rights under Amendments I and V; violations of their right to privacy of association; and, **any way they were answered,** would lead to either contempt citations or jeopardy of employment and loss of prestige and character.

Apprised of their rights, the witnesses twice refused to answer these questions before the Grand Jury and once before the Judge in his chambers.

The Grand Jury was kept in continuous session until 12:20 a.m. At midnight the courtroom was jammed, the atmosphere tense. Armed guards, guns, handcuffs, billies hanging from their belts, were stationed across the rear of the room. Eight armed deputy sheriffs were stationed in the corridor. At last the ten witnesses, with guards lined up behind them, were ranged before the judge to receive his final ruling. Each witness was then sentenced "to indefinite commitment to Federal jail without bail until you answer these questions."

HANDCUFFS. The 10 witnesses were then moved by guards to the left side of the court room facing the Grand Jury. Two women, with several small children each, were excused and given 24 hours to settle their domestic problems. The six men—four of them World War II veterans, one with the Distinguished Flying Cross — were then handcuffed together and placed between armed guards. Police matrons ranged themselves alongside the two remaining women. The entire party then marched across the street to the County Jail, to the accompaniment of flash bulbs and shouting reporters. The witnesses were then fingerprinted, "mugged," and at about 2 a.m. locked in their cells, just 20 hours after Federal marshals had secretly set out with their summons.

In less than 24 hours, dozens of law-abiding homes had been disrupted. Thirty or forty men and women—heads of families—were in hiding, frantically phoning to friends for funds, for child care, for new homes for their children pending settlement of the case. The witnesses who did appear in court were charged with no crime, no legal offense of any kind. Judge Hall affably told each of them that he was not being "investigated," "prosecuted," or even examined about any specific activity.

My wife, Mrs. Margaret Iris Noble, was one of these witnesses. On this Sunday evening, Oct. 31, she still occupies a Federal cell as Prisoner No. 88871. I am allowed to see her 15 minutes each week, to talk to her briefly through two iron screens and a barred grill. Through this steel foliage she is barely visible to me in her blue denim prison dress. Her mother is allowed a similar privilege—once each week. In the cell next to my wife is a woman committed for forgery. A few cells away is an unfortunate young woman who beat her seven-months-old baby to death last week.

It is legally possible for my wife and her companions to remain in Federal confinement for 18 months—until the term of the present Federal Grand Jury expires.

I am very proud of my wife.

Thus ends the record of a day in Los Angeles—Monday, Oct. 25, 1948.

[Following widespread protest Margaret Noble and her co-defendants last week were freed on bail pending appeal.]

Mrs. Margaret Noble and Mrs. Delphine Smith as they appeared at the Grand Jury hearing in Los Angeles.

HOLLISTER NOBLE, author of the recent novel on the Lincoln era, "Woman With A Sword," is a former New York newspaperman and music critic.

Week's Roundup

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

tion, but also for self-expression, advancement and the pursuit of happiness in one's job."

Practicing self-expression but not visibly pursuing happiness were seven Washingtonians, the first draftees from the District of Columbia, who left their homes for camp on election day.

Labor's Week

LABOR scored in last week's election. Aside from anticipated gains under the new Truman administration, union men pointed to these victories: Of the 54 defeated members of the House, 51 had voted for the Taft-Hartley law. And voters in Massachusetts and New Mexico decisively voted down proposals to outlaw the closed shop.

In Arizona, though, voters approved a proposal to put teeth into an existing anti-closed shop amendment to the State Constitution. The amendment itself is branded unconstitutional by the State Federation of Labor, whose attorneys are to argue the case before the U. S. Supreme Court this week.

Two years ago Arizona, South Dakota and Nebraska voted closed shop bans.

STILL DIVIDED. Pre-election differences in labor's house continued. Before the CIO convention opens on Nov. 22, a trial board will recommend that the charter of the New York City CIO Council be revoked.

Aftermath of the aborted bus strike in New York City saw these developments: Austin Hogan, president of Local 100 of the Transport Workers' Union called for an investigation of the "strikebreaking" of International President Michael Quill. Quill again called Hogan a Communist. Hogan threatened to take Gustav Faber, Local 100 secretary-treasurer into court on charges of embezzling union funds. Quill called for Hogan's expulsion. Next month's TWU convention should measure Quill's strength, reported waning since his on-again-off-again strike.

John L. Again

LEWIS LANGUAGE. The second thoughts of AFL President William Green were pungently derided by John L. Lewis, chief of the Mine Workers' Union. Lewis had proposed that Green press Truman to stop the shooting of striking French miners. At first Green's reaction was cited as "rather sympathetic." Later the AFL president said that Lewis was "talking like a Communist." Lewis told Green: "You went as far as you dared to oppose the shooting of hungry French mine workers. It was known to me, however, that upon your return to Washington, the Truman axmen and your personal enemies in your own office would force you to retract. Therefore, I will not take umbrage at the lying statements and contemptible slurs in your letter of yesterday which I know you were compelled to sign."

QUICK ACTION. The General Electric Co. last week withdrew recognition of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America as bargaining agents at their atomic energy plants in upstate New York. The company thus obeyed with conspicuous alacrity an order from David E. Lillienthal, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission. Lillienthal charges that UE officers are suspect since they have refused to sign anti-communist affidavits.

General Electric stands convicted by a Federal court of criminal conspiracy with Krupp, leading munitions maker for the Nazis. Last week Lillienthal voiced no doubts concerning the company's loyalty.

Jolly Good

BOSS ON THE LINE. In Dayton, Ohio, last week strikers of the Dayton Rubber Co. called to the company president, A. L. Freedlander as he was leaving the plant. "Join our ranks," they shouted, and so the company president did, picketing his own plant for 10 minutes. The pickets sang cheerily: "For he's a jolly good fellow."

A company spokesman commented: "It's just an illustration that strikes can be kept on a pretty high plane." The following day the company granted a pay increase of 11 cents an hour retroactive to last June. "For it's a jolly good union. . . ."

Week's Roundup

Chiang on Skids

THE faces of high Chinese officials, tallying up the U. S. election returns as they were flashed across the Pacific, grew longer and longer. It was Black Wednesday in Nanking, capital of the tottering dictator Chiang Kai-shek. Not even the impending arrival of their greatest American friend William C. Bullitt, emissary of Congress' Republican-led Committee on Foreign Aid, could lighten the gloom.

For his futile war against the Communists, Chiang had received only $6,000,000,000 since World War II from U. S. taxpayers. It was the Dewey party that had committed itself much more strongly than the Democrats to increasing the flow of aid. Truman's victory looked to them like a last straw — a political defeat on top of the recent military disasters.

The cream of Chiang's armies — 400,000 strong, with millions of dollars' worth of U. S. equipment — had melted away before the Communist attack west of Mukden, Manchuria. In Nanking, neutrals estimated that 250,000 of these soldiers with several generals went over to the Reds without a fight.

Washington rushed new arms and ammunition. The Chinese Communists quipped: "Let it come. We can make good use of it." They did not say what they could do with William C. Bullitt, who is thrown in with the new gift package.

WATERLOO. Reviewing Chiang's "Waterloo," GUARDIAN military analyst Max Werner wrote last week:

"The question is not whether Chiang will fall, but only when and how. He has lost not only Manchuria but China and the United States. The troops from Inner Mongolia in the northern Peiping-Kalgan corridor, and the Mohammedan Chinghai cavalry in Central China, are probably the only units still able and willing to resist. The Communist armies have a lead of 3 to 1 in combat troops and probably 5 to 1 in over-all fighting capacity."

If the military position was catastrophic, the economic one was ludicrous. By Thursday Premier Wong Wen-hao had submitted his resignation three times, admitting his attempt to balance the budget was "a total failure."

CHOW. Washington advised U. S. businessmen in North China to get out of Peiping and Tientsin while the getting was good. But British merchants made plans to stay even if the Communists took over. They did not see how things could be worse than they are already.

Among intelligent Chinese the tabooed subject of a coalition government with the Communists was being freely discussed. One Chinese merchant said: "You Americans seem to be concerned only about 'isms.' What we want is enough to eat."

Nobody was so optimistic as to expect a real change in U. S. Marshall Plan policy, even in the event that Gen. Marshall confirms U. N. gossip by retiring in January. More pertinent was speculation on how Truman and the bipartisans will tackle the old World War II dilemma, now presented with redoubled acuteness.

The dilemma: How much money and armament can be spared for the Far East from the more critical European front against "communism?"

New 'Red Deviltry'

DOLLAR AMBUSH. Coming on top of the fiasco of the Truman Doctrine in Greece, the Chinese debacle gave rise to a new theory of Russian diabolism. Hanson Baldwin, New York **Times** pundit famous for his monumental misjudgment of Nazi and Soviet strength in 1941*, called it a "luring offensive, an attempt to draw our strength into the unending ambush of expenditure."

This presumably meant that, if the U. S. squanders billions on corrupt dictatorial regimes which cannot sup-

* Said commentator Johannes Steel at that time: "The only thing that stands between the Red Army and Berlin is Hanson Baldwin."

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE WORLD

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Stalin Warns: West Can't Win A War

THE future is the product of the present. The present is the product of the past. These are obvious truths. Yet to the bipartisan practitioners of the "cold war," nothing is so invisible as the obvious.

In his interview in **Pravda** (Oct. 28), Stalin described the discussions in the Security Council as "a display of the aggressiveness of the policy of Anglo-Americans and French ruling circles." He said that Washington and London had repudiated not only the accord of Aug. 30 for a settlement of the Berlin crisis but also the unofficial Vishinsky-Bramuglia draft agreement

Stalin in the 1920's

of October, preceding the Soviet veto of the resolution sponsored by the Western Powers.

He concluded that American and British "war instigators" do not want agreement, but only "talk about agreement and cooperation, so as to put the blame on the U.S.S.R. by preventing agreement and thus to 'prove' that cooperation is impossible. . . ."

Yet he predicted, with bitter references to Churchill, that the final result would be "ignominious failure for the instigators of a new war."

PROBLEM OF POWER. These comments have disturbed—and were designed to disturb—Western opinion. British and U.S. disclaimers and counter-charges are, as usual, devoid of originality or imagination. Cynical observers see the episode as another illustration of the ancient propensity of governments engaged in preparations for war to give all praise to themselves and put all blame on the enemy.

What has not been generally noted about the Stalin statement is the one thing which gives it significance.

It is not double-talk nor "propaganda." Viewed in the perspective of time, it is the Soviet way of saying: we expect, sooner or later, to be attacked; we expect to frustrate the plans of those proposing to attack us; we expect to defeat the attack, if and when it comes.

LESSON OF HISTORY. These expectations will seem fantastic only to those unfamiliar with the past. The Soviet regime was established 31 years ago yesterday—on Nov. 7, 1917, or Oct. 25 by the old Russian calendar. Its leaders expected attack by the Western powers. Lenin rejoiced when his government endured longer than the Paris Commune of 1871. Cooperation with the West was possible. Raymond Robins and Bruce Lockhart sought to achieve it. Their efforts were ignored by their superiors.

The attack materialized in the summer of 1918, with British, French, Italian, American, and Japanese forces all moving to support the Russian "Whites" and to drown the "Bolshevik assassins" in blood.

A decade later, attack by the Western powers again appeared imminent, though it did not come. Two decades later, a Western assault was once more expected.

Munich was the green light flashed by the democracies to Fascism. Stalin and Molotov bought two years' respite in the summer of 1939. But the attack came, with almost irresistible fury and might, in June of 1941.

EXPERIENCE CONFIRMED. Soviet leaders expect attack once more, some time in the 1950's. Western leaders did nothing to change the expectation, and everything to confirm it, in 1917-18, in 1927, in 1937-39, and in 1940-41. They are doing everything now to confirm it and nothing to change it.

Regardless of Western purposes or justifications, the "lessons of history" have taught, and continue to teach, the rulers and people of the U.S.S.R. that it is the democratic West and not the Soviet East which is most determined to validate the original Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin thesis—long since revised by the Kremlin—that two systems cannot exist in one world without each seeking to destroy the other.

Most Americans know better.

Western statesmen are assuredly not Marxists. Yet they so conduct themselves as to give credence to the most violent, uncompromising, and apocalyptic brand of Marxism.

GENTLEMEN—NO! Stalin has said: Gentlemen, you shall not again use Germany against us. If you insist on so using Western Germany, we shall use Eastern Germany and squeeze you out of Berlin. Your plans to attack us will fail. We will never unleash a shooting war. If you do, you will be beaten.

These anticipations are the fruit of 31 years of the Soviet Revolution. Only those ignorant of the record will ridicule them as rhetoric, or dismiss them as inevitably wrong.

'They Aren't Really There'

By Jack Lindsay

LONDON

THERE were six of us, British writers visiting Poland. It wasn't hard for Major X—a British military attaché at Warsaw—to pick us out as we looked at some peasant pottery in a shop window. The place—a mountain town near Cracow.

He sent over his young chauffeur: wouldn't we dine with Major X?

"Of course," said the Major as we sat down, "you know all these things in the shops have only been put there by the Polish Government. They aren't really there. As soon as you people go, they'll vanish."

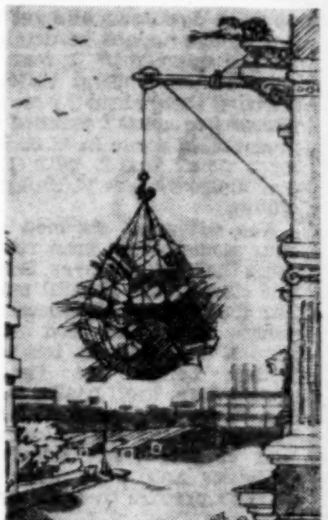
He looked brightly round. His listeners seemed bowled over, and with a growing sense of superiority he went on: "I wouldn't blame you for being taken in by the show that's being put up When I came a year ago, I had a perfectly open mind, and I was impressed for a few weeks. But I've seen inside the sham."

MARTIAL PRAYERS. He took another look round. The writers were plainly disconcerted.

"I get round quite a lot, and I talk to the peasants. Fine fellows. You can take it from me that over 95% of them as a conservative estimate are praying night and day that the talks on Berlin will fail. They want war, and in my opinion they're right. War is necessary and inevitable, to blow these tyrannical governments to blazes. As soon as war is declared, these peasants will go en masse to the woods and fight till the liberating armies arrive."

Stimulated by his own British voice, Major X talked about the need for all good men to unite against Russia. This time the Germans . . . He mentioned a good friend of his in Berlin. Well, yes, the chap had once been a Nazi, but you know . . . Had he been purged? Not exactly, but he was being "democratically reeducated." That was the name they gave it.

"Such a humiliation for a civilized human being," said the Major, emptying another glass of vodka



"Watch out—another load of directives." — *A "Krokodil" (Moscow) jibe at Soviet bureaucracy.*

THE WORLD

$1 A Day In U.S.-Owned Mines

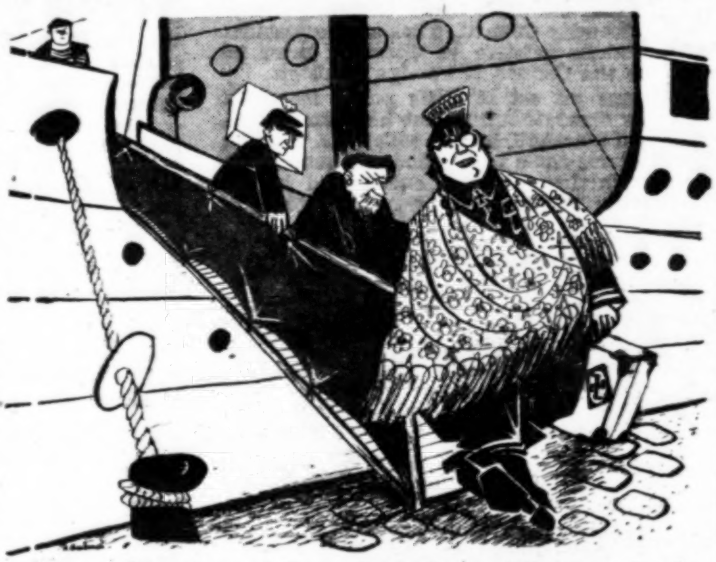
South America Strains to Break Out Of the Yoke of the Yankee Dollar

MEXICO CITY

ALL over Latin America the people are fed up with U.S. speeches about Good Neighbor policies and are waiting for Good Neighbor actions. They will judge the election result on what Truman's administration will do in the next four years to help them take their place as free nations in Pan-American and world councils.

Henry Wallace's program made sense to Latin Americans. They like Wallace as a man but it is the program that counts. Lazaro Cardenas, who as president of Mexico in 1938 expropriated foreign oil holdings and nationalized his country's billion-dollar reserves, called Wallace's program "perhaps the only hope for a people's peace in which democracy can grow."

A few days after Cardenas' letter and Wallace's warm reply were published here, a group of Cuban writers, senators and trade union leaders cabled to Cardenas, urged him to call a continental congress on the conditions and problems of peace.



"Those who arrive and those who wait are of the same family and the same blood."
—*Spanish Ambassador to Argentina Jose Maria de Areilza, commenting on the new Spanish-Argentine immigration pact, under which "refugee" Nazis move into Argentina.*

ECONOMIC CLASH. Latin American countries are struggling above all to industrialize their economies. In this drive for economic and political independence, they regard U.S. big money and monopoly as their enemy.

The young school of industrialists refuse to regard their countries as sources of raw materials and cheap labor or necessarily as markets for goods made in the U.S. with their materials. They clash with U.S. money interests on their right to protect domestic markets; and they will—as they told Secretary of State George Marshall at the Bogota Pan-American Conference — retain expropriation clauses in their constitutions.

The 11 most economically active Latin American nations have lost $1,212,000,000 in gold and exchange reserves since the war.

But this has not changed the independent basis on which they will continue to seek dollar credits for industry, electrification, irrigation and highways.

$1 A DAY. Men who make a dollar a day in U.S.-owned mines in Chile and Mexico, U.S.-owned plantations in Central America or U.S.-owned oil fields in Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela, are likely to compare their wages and what they will buy with wage levels in the same industries in the U.S.

They side with their progressive governments and with up-and-coming industry in demanding that the materials they produce be used or processed at home.

Having witnessed racial discrimination against all Latin Americans in the Panama Canal Zone, and read, at least, of practises that have made Texas a Forbidden State for Mexican harvest workers, they have concluded that a Good Neighbor, given power in Washington, would help Pan-Americanism grow on liberal Roosevelt lines.

Union men who see in Chilean concentration camps, in Cuban slayings, in Brazilian adoption of Mussolini's labor code, the result of business alliances between native reaction and U.S. money, suspect the American Federation of Labor as a State Department weapon when, as now, it attempts to form new labor federations with headquarters in Washington.

OIL AND FOOD. Oil is one issue under which all these Latin American groups are united. As Venezuelans have discovered, foreign ownership of oil reserves leads to the importation of foods by potentially wealthy farming countries, and impedes industrial growth.

Colombians want to keep at least a part of their oil production, to fuel power and industrial plants. Brazilians have hurriedly set up a national commission to keep newly-discovered fields out of foreign hands. Mexicans are fighting the refusal of U.S. oil interests to permit the sale of steel and equipment, for lack of which domestic demand for oil is overtaking production.

Students, teachers and artists think of their countries' ages-old fight with corruption, military-political deals with empire-seekers, feudal conditions of land ownership, and the surviving dictatorships that are the shame of the continent.

Their countries have gained something in terms of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations. Without a Good Neighbor policy in action—which means a real democrat in the White House — these meager gains are threatened.

—**Willard Young**

"It is in the interest of the U.S. to see that China does not fall into the hands of the Communists. Let us give affirmative aid."
—Roger D. Lapham, *Marshall Plan Chief in China.*

Week's Roundup

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

press their own hungry people by force of arms, the Russians are to blame.

Baldwin's analysis offered a new formula for explaining critical situations around the world. In France, it presented the continuing inflation and the hungry miners' strike for food as a Russian plot to ambush ERP dollars.

"CONFIDENTIALLY . . ." In Belgium—the only western European country that is not restricting imports for lack of dollars—the plot was taking a slightly different form. Belgium has too many dollars, so many that France and other neighbors cannot sell their goods there, which causes a Belgian crisis.

Belgium was choked with dollars last week; Italy with men. It faced chronic unemployment of more than 1,000,000 workers. This, said Italy's ERP chief, would cause economic and social organization to fall apart unless the million could emigrate, which they cannot: there are no jobs for them in any other European country.

Europe's governments were faced with the economic facts of life; the hurrahs from ERP's Hoffman in America could not alter them. One distinguished American took a decidedly dimmer view of ERP's success last week. Returning from a European trip, president Joseph W. Frazer of the Kaiser-Frazer Co. said of the Marshall Plan:

"As a business project it stinks — smells."

German Worries

OUT OF THE WOODWORK. In the U.S. Zone of Germany, the Stuttgart riot set off by a workers' demonstration against high prices had occupation leaders worried.

Black marketeers were back in force, holding food off the market in Bavaria for higher prices. The workers, AMG officials said, were convinced that Nazi industrialists were coming out on top again. A new price rise could touch off a really serious wave of strikes.

As the longest international trial in history (2½ years, 9,000,000 words of evidence), drew to a close in Tokyo, and Australian Chief Justice Sir William Webb began reading the court's findings against former Japanese Premier Tojo, a touching event was reported from the British Zone of Germany.

Margarete Heydrich, widow of Reinhardt Heydrich, the Nazi hangman in Czechoslovakia, asked the British authorities to protect her from extradition to Czechoslovakia. In that country she faces a life sentence for brutalities to Jews on her estate while her husband was Gauleiter of Prague.

CARNIVAL IN PRAGUE. Prague's famous square, the Vaclavske Nameski, had a carnival look in spite of gray, drizzly weather. The trees were hung with paper streamers and flowers, buildings were gay with red banners, red-white-blue Czechoslovak flags, and frisky Czech lions rampant on red and white shields. The ancient bridge and Powder Tower of King Charles IV were floodlit, emphazising the cultural heritage of 600 years.

It was National Freedom Day — the 30th celebration of the Czechoslovak Republic, formed on October 28, 1918, from the pieces of a nation almost obliterated by foreign rule.

While armored cars crammed with factory militia and Security Corps men roared through the square, President Gottwald scanned a pile of reports on the fulfillment of the two-year plan (economic reconstruction), signed a decree for the new five-year plan developing and changing the whole economy toward socialism.

You Work — You Eat

POINTS OF VIEW. Taking stock of their country, some Czechoslovaks shared the American nostaglia for the first Republic of free enterprise. A miner writing to Prace, trade union newspaper, expressed the view of the majority who look to the future with confidence, convinced that for them more and not less freedom lies ahead.

"It may have been fine for some people," the miner wrote of the first Republic, "but I have no desire to go back to a regime of one or two meat meals a month and frightening periods of unemployment."

In the side streets where the clamor of the parade was muted, a few tourists sat in cafes complaining that "things are getting worse."

It was all a question of how you looked at it. Since the government's indomitable Mrs. Jancovkove started

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Week's Roundup

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

straightening out the food supply chaos in February, vegetable, flour, sugar, milk and fat rations had improved.

The catch was that, to get the rations, you now had to work. Facing a thin future, the remaining drones of Prague looked out on the armed workers marching by in procession, and many decided to turn over a new leaf.

Did Truman Know?

SWITCH ON ISRAEL. On the U. N. front in Paris, comparative quiet had reigned. The American position had become so dominant that the nations' delegates might as well cool off until the U. S. voter said his piece.

The election over, U. S. delegates pulled a quick switch on Israel before the Security Council. They offered an amendment to a British-Chinese resolution ordering Israel to take its troops out of the disputed Negev.

The amendment, they said, dropped the threat of sanctions against Israel. Israeli spokesmen said that in effect it made the sanctions threat even stronger. "It is a club to hold over us if we don't accept the Bernadotte report."

Brushing off a Canadian move to postpone a vote for 24 hours, the Americans and British insisted on a night session — the first since the Security Council met in Paris — and rushed the resolution through. The U. S. S. R. abstained; the Ukraine voted no.

Israel's Aubrey Eban said the resolution made U. N. Mediator Ralph Bunche virtual commander of Israel's army. He indicated there would be no withdrawal from the Negev.

WHAT ABOUT HARRY? While all this was going on, President Truman was riding his victory train back to Washington from Missouri. There was no indication of where he stood or of what he intended to do.

Undersecretary of State Lovett said the U. S. move in Paris had been cleared with the White House. Aware of the expressed differences between Truman and American U. N. spokesmen, delegates wondered what to make of it all.

At the time the Israel resolution was "cleared at the White House," there was nobody home.

In London's House of Commons, Foreign Minister Bevin answered questions about British soldiers serving with the Arab Legion. England's Sir Alexander Cadogan had told the U. N. last May that the men were being withdrawn. Bevin explained that they had merely been withdrawn "from Palestine." They remain in Transjordan training Arabs to kill Jews.

THE WORLD

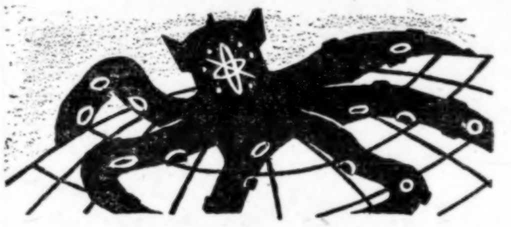
JOHANNES STEEL

UN Score: Zero for Everybody

THE current session of the General Assembly went into virtual recess over the United States elections. Will it continue to its fated conclusions?

In violation of Article 107 of the United Nations charter, the U. S. threw the Berlin issue into the Security Council. That article provides that questions relative to Germany must be settled by the Council of Foreign Ministers.

This was an act of basic policy in which there was absolute agreement between Messrs. Dulles and Marshall, but on which Mr. Truman seems to have some reservations. It remains to be seen whether Truman, encouraged by his tremendous personal victory, will translate



these reservations into active policy. He could, if he wanted to, rescue the current session from failure.

THE GRAVEDIGGERS. Up to now, all chances for any achievements during the session were doomed from the moment the U.S. insisted upon placing the Berlin issue before the Security Council. In doing this the western powers, i.e., the United States, literally served notice that they conceived of the Assembly session as a propaganda forum which would take up considerable time, would fill up the front pages of our newspapers, and would hold the attention of the world. At the same time, the Atlantic military alliance, managed by Field Marshal Montgomery, was created in Paris.

Perhaps the sharpest rebuke to the Marshall-Dulles policy was the unanimous adoption by the U. N. General Assembly, coincident with Truman's re-election, of a resolution asking the big powers to settle their differences and to write the German and Japanese peace treaties as soon as possible. This resolution was adopted over the strong opposition of the American delegation.

The session has also been remarkable for the manner in which it permitted itself to be steamrollered by Ango-American diplomacy into abandoning its own original decisions with regard to Israel. On this score there were important differences of opinion between Mr. Marshall and Mr. Dulles. These differences, by and large, merely reflected the respective election promises of Messrs. Truman and Dewey.

PIPELINE POLITICS. Both Britain and the United States were opposed to the original U. N. decision to establish an Arab and a Jewish state in Palestine, because this partition cut across the designs of British and American oil monopolies. The Bernadotte plan, however, was perfect from the point of view of the oil interests.

Among othere things it provided that Haifa should be a free port, Lydda a free airfield, and the Negev be turned over to the Arabs; the largest British oil refinery is in Haifa and the big pipeline from Iraq ends there.

If the Bernadotte plan is carried out, Israel will be completely cut off from the raw materials it so sorely needs to develop industry of its own. The Arabs, into whose hands these resources would fall, would be no better off; there is not enough Arab capital nor enough trained forces to work these resources. That is what British and American monopolists are counting on.

ATOM BLACKMAIL. The U. S. lost its most important propaganda battle in the current session when the American delegation found itself at a loss to counter the variety of proposals made by Mr. Vishinsky concerning the outlawing of atomic energy as an aggressive weapon. A world-wide impression was made by Mr. Austin's brusque rejection of the Soviet offer to sign an agreement simultaneously prohibiting atom bombs and establishing international control.

Four French scientists, Dr. Antoine Lacassagne, prominent cancer research worker, Jacques Hadamard, Sorbonne mathematician, Charles Mauguin and Professor Jean Orcel, immediately published a letter stating that this indicated the U. S. had reverted to a policy of reliance on its atomic weapons as a means of imposing its will on the whole world.

They recalled that the United States had at first offered to submit its atomic weapons to the U. N., but that they had afterwards refused to do so — evidently without understanding that they were thus killing all possibility of agreement in this, as well as in other spheres. They pointed out that the Soviet proposals on prohibition of atomic weapons would in no way have harmed the U. S. if it had accepted them.

The session of the U. N. will come to an end without any achievements to its credit. The bottleneck created by the U. S. throwing the Berlin issue into the Security Council makes it probable that many of the 68 items on the provisional agenda will not even come up.

Ella Winter: Down on the Farm in Czechoslovakia

THE fight between Yugoslavia and the Cominform is having one unexpected result in eastern Europe. Officials and agriculturists are reexamining their policies toward the peasants—the new farmer-owners—to check whether there is any drift toward a new **kulak** (rich exploiting farmer) class.

The danger is always there if peasants are given individual holdings. They may develop an unwanted "individualism," caring more about themselves and their own profit than the good of the whole.

Czech agriculture is slowly going over to dairy-farming, which is to be mechanized. This small country is not so suitable for large wheat farms as other eastern European countries. Therefore collectivization is not envisaged, as Premier Zapotocky assured the farmers soon after the Cominform criticized Marshal Tito for not pushing that policy. But cooperatives are being developed.

COW HEAVEN. I have just returned from a few days on a large cow cooperative, which I also visited last year.

It is on the estates of old Count Schwarzenberg, in the heart of the Sudetenland, where almost 3,000,000 Germans formerly lived. Three thousand Germans were formerly on this particular piece of land; now 240 families occupy it.

It is good grazing land, and an inland cooperative sends its cows for the five Summer months to get fat and healthier. "A Bad Nauheim for cows," laughed the deputy administrator, a 23-year-old Jewish partisan boy from Slovakia who had fought in the hills in 1944 and then followed the Russians to Vienna. He had swaggered around that capital in its early post-war days, demon-driving several automobiles till they crashed or wore out. Now he was driving a tractor, herding sheep, watching over the pasteurizing of the milk, terrifying stumbling oxen as he snorted by on his Skoda motorcycle. He wore plus fours open at the knee, skeds and no socks.

TEACHING COOPERATION. "How many farmers would you say benefited from the land reform?" I asked a Ministry of Agriculture official.

"About 70,000 larger farmers had some land taken away—about 300,000 small peasants received land. All estates have been divided into acreages of 25 to 150 acres."

"Do you consider that the peasant feels free?"

"A number don't. It's a long pull to make them realize that joint effort in farming, joint use of tractors and other machinery, will yield better results — for them and for the country. They've never thought particularly about the overall picture and how their part in production helps."

INCENTIVES. "Do you do anything to educate your farmers to socialist thinking?"

"The best education is to increase their incentives. We are quite aware that people don't change overnight. We give them subsidies, increase farm prices where possible, encourage them to use the co-operative's farm machinery. But also we are establishing Houses of Culture in villages and sending around mobile theaters and movies. Already ten village theaters tour the country in buses."

"Would you say you have socialism yet?"

"Oh no! Not at all! But we are laying the path."

"Do you think you might fail?"

"No. We are sure we cannot fail. We are quite aware of the dangers, we consider all angles, and we plan and deal with them."

SUBVERSIVE U. S. "What is your attitude to the U. S.?"

"America is not making our task easier. You are organizing refugees, which has a bad propaganda effect, for they send in subversive propaganda. They may make it necessary for us to see our sights less high, which we don't want to do.

"We don't want to use compulsion, we don't like snooping, and we don't want to become a 'police state,' as you call it. We are proud of the fact that our revolution occurred without one person's blood being shed."

This was the boast I heard again and again in Czechoslovakia.

BETTER LIVING

Lifelines

COME CLEAN, POP. Maybe young George Washington was setting an example for his old man rather than for other kids when he said, "I cannot tell a lie." As part of a recent observation of Better Parents Week, the Children's Village at Dobbs Ferry, N.Y., invited 276 underprivileged boys to tell what they liked and disliked in their parents. Telling the truth was by far the most important parental trait desired by the children. Ninety-eight per cent of the boys voted for this. Honesty, justice, courtesy, a quiet voice and affection, in that order, were other positive qualities liked. On the negative side they disliked nagging most. Close behind were forgotten promises, fussiness and complaining.

•

START SHOUTING. You don't have to feel like an old sourpuss any more when you holler about shoddy merchandise; you'll really be doing the big stores a favor. It's official: At a recent meeting of the National Retail Dry Goods Assn., store managers were told that customers' complaints were the dealers' "most accurate barometer." How about doing some fancy hollering about prices, and send that barometer up?

•

SMALLER GOBBLES. The National Turkey Federation announces that the crop of Thanksgiving birds this year is the smallest in a decade. With supplies kept down, prices are going to be even higher this year than last, natch. Sometimes, we wonder whether Mother Nature is giving us the bird—or is it Mother Nature's acquisitive children?

•

THE '48ERS. Seems like there's more gold in the pockets of hotel residents and tourists than there is in the ground. Construction workers for a hotel in Last Chance Gulch, Helena, Mont., the scene of a fabulous "strike" in 1864, found a new lode which mining men said was worth working. But the hotel operators ordered the workers to go ahead and pour that concrete. They said: "We don't have time to mess with gold."

•

THE CODFISH CURTAIN. In Poland they're making women's shoes out of codfish skins. The result is said to look like lizard skin and feel like leather. . . . To eliminate fire risks, Czech tobacco companies are experimenting with a cigarette paper made partly of glass fibres. These fibres form a thin net which holds the ash and remains intact until the cigarette burns down or is snuffed out.

•

SCIENCE STUMPED. At a recent congress of scientists in Brighton, England, a truth-seeker demanded that the solons explain why bread always falls on the carpet buttered side down. The question was tabled. When a GUARDIAN skeptic recalled once having seen a slice of bread fall buttered side up, we put the question to a suitably learned man on this side of the water. He said the instance noted by no means disproved the natural law involved; it proved only that the bread was buttered on the wrong side.

A Look Ahead on Housing

APARTMENT hunting? Here's some news for you, supplied by your old friend, the **Wall Street Journal.** There are plenty of apartments available — in fact, going begging — in the big cities of the nation. That is, if you can get up $125 a month for rent for 1-2-3 rooms.

The **Journal** made a survey of 11 cities and this is a sample of what it found:

• **Cleveland:** Plenty of apartments vacant because people just can't afford the high rents in new buildings. One business man, who worries more than some others about his employees, said that only three or four of the 650 persons who worked for him could pay more than $60 a month. He said: "Too much attention is being paid to high cost suites and not enough to low cost apartments for the average family's pocketbook."

• **Los Angeles:** Vacancies in new buildings three months ago were 6½% and landlords agree that the figure has jumped since then.

NOVEMBER THOUGHT. Rent control expires March 31, 1949. Under the present ineffective law, landlords have got rent boosts ranging from 4 to 40% on 50,000 dwellings each month. Hardship, you know. The increases will have affected 600,000 tenants before the year is out.

We went back to Wall Street for another bit of news and found it in **Barrons,** the unsentimental business weekly. Seems that the landlords want a "crack" at your pay envelope. That's what the paper said. They'd like a 50 per cent increase in rents. This would cost the average family $25 a month, or $300 a year. In day-to-day terms it means less milk for the kids, less clothing for the missus, and a flossier shine on the seat of your three-year-old trousers.

$ DOLLAR STRETCHERS $

Water: 70 Cents a Pound

THE processed cheeses in the fancy packages that have become so popular in the last few years are almost half water. Just take a look at the fine print on the labels: these blended spreads are 44 to 45 percent moisture as against the 13 to 39% found in natural cheddar.

Intelligent buying will give you a break on the food-value side while preventing you from being deluged with water. Natural mild cheddar was going at 60 to 65 cents a pound in most stores last week as compared to the 70 to 80 cents a pound that the processed cheese cost you (27 to 30 cents a package). So, without water, the price of the natural cheese is lower. And it's a high-protein food that is replacing meat at more and more dinner tables. A half-pound has as much protein as a pound of meat with an average amount of bone and fat. You can figure that meat in a main dish will cost about 13 cents per person; cheese in a main dish will cost about eight cents. Cheese puffs made with a little dried beef, cheese-and-tomato rarebit, cheese souffle and fondue all make good dinner dishes. Be sure to serve a green vegetable with these, since cheese is low in iron.

Buying for the Kids

CHILDREN'S clothes are still expensive. There are no signs of price cuts in sight such as are now taking place in men's wear. In fact, manufacturers report they're having a hard time matching production against the heavy demand. Apparently papa is getting all the mileage he can out of last year's pants, but he's determined the kids will be clad warmly this winter.

If you're shocked by such prices as $12.95 for a dress for a small girl or $25 for a little coat with leggings, you'd better be a smart shopper this year.

Above all, avoid the fancied-up "fashionable" clothes for kids that have come on the market since war's end (object: to hide an excessively high price and/or basically shoddy quality). Not only do extra trimmings such as pinched waists, longer skirts, ruffles, big collars, puffed sleeves, pleats, bows, etc., add to the price, clothing specialists point out, but they make washing and ironing a headache, and they're a great bother for the kids themselves.

Look for clothes with simple trimming a kid can handle. Recommended: round flat buttons; flat facing around the neckline rather than annoyingly bulky collars; flat pockets firmly stitched at top corners, big enough for a child to get his hands into, low enough for him to reach. Skip the belt and sashes. They get lost or untied, and kids don't have a definite waistline anyway.

When buying snowsuits, one-piece styles are recommended by U.S. Agriculture Dept. home economists. There isn't as much heat loss as in the widely-advertised two-piece styles.

Snowsuits of part reused wool or part cotton are satisfactory and less expensive. Matter of fact, a little cotton adds durability. Just be sure the material is closely woven (hold it up to the light) and resilient (grasp a handful).

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Sign up four of your friends to receive NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Fill in the accompanying blanks and enclose cash, check or money order — or if you prefer, we'll send a bill.

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The cause of an independent, progressive newsweekly is yours as well as ours. That's why we're asking you to sign up your friends right now.

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Here are the subs of my friends who want to be readers of the Guardian.

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I. F. STONE on the Birth of a Nation

How War Came to the Valley of the Jordan

Last spring I. F. Stone, Washington correspondent and columnist of the New York "Star," returned to Palestine to see at first hand the birth of a new nation. He wrote a book based on his observations. The book, "This Is Israel," will be published by Boni & Gaer on Nov. 19. The article below has been excerpted from "This Is Israel."

THIS is how the Jordan Valley looked to one who saw it during the war. Coming from the Emek one climbed high up into the mountains of Galilee lovely with the red poppies and blue cornflowers of a late spring. At the top of the rise one suddenly saw the blue waters of Galilee and on the right far below the lush subtropical Jordan Valley with its palms and banana plantations. Along the river stretched a line of Jewish colonies with their white walled houses and red tiled rooftops.

War began for this part of the Jordan Valley long before May 15, though the heaviest attack only came after the declaration of statehood. The British left on April 27, handing over the police station between Degania A and Samakh to the Arabs, and Iraqi troops entrenched themselves there and in Samakh.

The Jews knew that control of the police station meant control of the highway into Israel. The colonists, with the aid of Palmach commandos, opened a surprise attack at midnight; sappers blew a hole in the side of the police station, and drove the Iraqi out with grenades. Another detachment attacked the city of Samakh. By daybreak the Jews held both the station and the city.

AT 5 a.m. of May 15, the Arabs opened an offensive designed to retake Samakh and smash through the Jordan Valley colonies into Israel. Iraqi and Syrian planes bombed the whole area that day and again on Sunday, when they scored several hits on the police with so few rifles that some had to take turns at the guns. . . .

The size and weight of the armored forces which went into action against the railroad station and the police station were overwhelming. Tanks encircled the police station and its defenders were completely cut off. Between 6:30 and 7 a.m. the colonies of Kinnereth, Degania A and Degania B sent out reinforcements in an effort to break through to the police station.

Twenty-eight youngsters went. They had rifles and Molotov cocktails. The Arabs saw them coming and sent out armored cars which met them on the road and killed all but five. The slaughter was such that the dead had to be buried later in a common grave; most of them could no longer be identified.

By 8 o'clock that morning both the police and railroad stations had to be given up. Those few who could get away were evacuated to Degania A.

THE outlook for the Jordan Valley colonies was bad. Shelling had become heavier. At 7 a.m., on Tuesday, it was decided to evacuate all children. Most of the women were to go with the children.

Edith Wagner of Buffalo, New York, a member of Degania B, described the evacuation: "We each took two children by the hand and we just ran and flopped, and ran and flopped. There was a slight lull in the shelling of Degania because the Arabs were busy with the fight at the police station. Whenever we heard cannon fire, we would flop until the blast, then start up again. There were some buses waiting for us on the side of the road about 500 yards west of Degania A. Planes circled overhead but didn't bomb us and all the small children were gotten out safely."

In Degania B there were 60 front line fighters, all members of the colony or neighbors ranging in age from 18 to 57 years. One of these, who had been in the front lines under shelling all this time, was a 57-year-old member with heart trouble who had had only as much sleep as he could catch in a slit trench.

"We had enough rifles and a few Sten guns, two light machine guns and one Piat anti-tank gun, no mortars, plenty of grenades, and everybody had homemade Molotov cocktails."

All the defenders of the colony were pretty badly exhausted by the time the attack came. They had been in the trenches waiting for the attack since Saturday. On Tuesday there had been a direct hit by a shell on the water tower at Degania B and its defenders had been without water for two days when the attack began.

The attacking force came across the fields from the north-south road along the Syrian border. They had two big tanks, several heavy armored cars with two-pounder cannon and machine guns and about 15 light tanks.

In the third attack about 11:30, the infantry came as close as 50 yards to the gate of the colony before they retreated again. At one time an attempt was made to encircle Degania B from the south but the attackers faltered and retreated under heavy fire from the defenders.

IN the meantime there was an attack under way at Degania A. Early on the morning of Thursday after the preliminary shelling they saw six or seven tanks coming toward the colony aolng the road from Samakh.

"Two tanks advanced to the gate, the others came straight to my post between the gate and the orange grove to the south," related Dr. Aaron Shapiro, 39-year-old Polish veterinarian, who was in command. "I had 40 men on my side of the colony with rifles, two light machine guns and a few grenades." The oldest soldier was 55 and the youngest 16, all of them members of the colony.

Dr. Shapiro said the 16-year-old boy, "Heskela" Gleicher, was the bravest of all. He was a pet of the colony, one of the "Teheran orphans" who came out of Soviet Middle Asia with the Anders army in 1941. It was "Heskela" who carried Molotov cocktails from the dining room where they were being made to the front line trenches under fire during the battle.

The climax of the battle came when a light Renault tank crashed through the fence of the colony while two others covered it from the road in the rear with cannon and machine gun fire. Dr. Shapiro had his men in a slit trench with orders not to throw their Molotov cocktails until the tank was almost upon them.

As the tank bore down on the trench, a young man of 24, Sholem Hochbaum of Katowicz, Poland, jumped out of the trench with a cocktail in either hand and threw them at the tank. It burst into flames. This boy spent five years in German concentration camps, was liberated in Bergen Belsen, and came to Palestine "illegally" on the **Tel Hai**. He had been in the colony two years.

THE defenders of Degania wrecked the second tank just outside the fence and a third tank retreated after two Molotov cocktails were thrown at it.

About two o'clock that afternoon Jewish artillery arrived and went into action for the first time in the war. It shelled the Syrian positions.

That night the Palmach with the support of two small planes drove the Syrians out of Samakh. In Samakh

the next morning the Jews captured more than half a ton of arms including rifles, machine guns, helmets, and thousands of rounds of bullets and at least one armored car.

There were 200 casualties in the Jordan Valley colonies. About 15 were killed. Both Deganias were badly damaged and lost most of their cattle.

This was how the members of Palestine's first collective and its neighbors in the Jordan Valley acquitted themselves under heavy armed attack. This was how they prevented the Syrian army from breaking into Israel.

Fresh Air

JORGE GARCIA-GRANADOS, Guatemalan delegate at the UN and a member of the UN Committee on Palestine (which recommended partition) has written a book that will make the Anglo-American grave-diggers of Israel apoplectic. And with good reason: "The Birth of Israel" (Knopf) is honest.

The book shows that a small international unit could have restored order swiftly in Palestine, but the Anglo-Americans would not have it that way. They would rather watch Arabs and Jews die by hundreds than set up a UN police force. Why? Because Soviet soldiers would have to participate in an international force; and manslaughter is much to be preferred to the sight of a Soviet soldier drinking orange juice in a Jerusalem cafe. V. A.

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